

## **Infinitival complements of causative/perception verbs in a diachronic perspective**

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### **Abstract**

This paper traces the diachrony of three alternative configurations of infinitival complementation with causative and perception verbs in Portuguese, namely the *faire*-infinitive, the Exceptional Case Marking and the inflected infinitive constructions. It is shown that the *faire*-infinitive construction is the earlier pattern of infinitival complementation with causative and perception verbs. The ECM construction is the subsequent innovation and creates the conditions for the appearance of the inflected infinitive. Hence the diachronic development of the structures analyzed in the paper defines a clear path of functional enrichment of the infinitival complements of causative and perception verbs, which gradually acquire greater syntactic autonomy. The structurally ambiguous configurations that lie behind each step of the change are identified in the paper.

### **Keywords**

Exceptional Case Marking (ECM); *faire*-infinitive (*faire*-inf), inflected infinitive; syntactic change; European Portuguese

### **1. Introduction**

This paper traces the diachrony of three alternative configurations of infinitival complementation with causative and perception verbs in Portuguese, namely the *faire*-infinitive construction (Kayne, 1975), the Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) construction and the inflected infinitive (see Gonçalves, 1999, and subsequent work). Section 2 deals with the relation between the *faire*-infinitive and the ECM constructions. It is

proposed that the latter developed from the former, although both are attested since Old Portuguese. Section 3 discusses particular configurations involving ECM, coordination, gapping, and root inflected infinitives, which are taken to be central to understand the emergence of the inflected infinitive as complement of causative/perception verbs in structurally ambiguous contexts. Section 4 identifies two types of apparent inflected infinitives and briefly discusses them. It is suggested that they are not recent innovations in the language but marginal grammatical options with limited expression in the written historical sources.

The thirteenth century text *Demanda do Santo Graal* (henceforth *Demanda*) will be used as the main source of the data discussed on section 2. Together with *Livro de José de Arimateia* (henceforth *Arimateia*), it constitutes the Portuguese translation of the Old French Post-Vulgate Arthurian Cycle. Although the original manuscripts were lost, *Demanda* has been preserved by a fifteenth century copy that generally maintains the grammatical features of thirteenth century Portuguese. The sixteenth century copy of *Arimateia*, on the other hand, changed the language of the original in some respects (Martins, 2013; Neto, 2001). The texts *Demanda* and *Arimateia* are available online in POS-tagged and parsed versions in <http://alfclul.clul.ul.pt/wochwel/>.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. From *faire*-infinitive to ECM structures

As early as the thirteenth century, Old Portuguese allowed both the *faire*-infinitive construction and the ECM construction. The inflected infinitive, on the other hand, does not seem to be attested in the infinitival complement of causative and perception verbs before the fifteenth century, and only spreads across texts and genres from the sixteenth century on.<sup>2</sup> A large majority of the data that can be found in the Old Portuguese texts throughout the medieval period are ambiguous between the *faire*-infinitive and the ECM structures. Taking the thirteenth century text *Demanda do Santo Graal* as an example, almost 90% of the occurrences of infinitival structures with causative and perception verbs do not permit a plain

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<sup>1</sup> Research for this paper was developed within the FCT funded project WOChWEL – *Word Order and Word Order Change in Western European Languages* (PTDC/CLE-LIN/121707/2010). I am grateful to the anonymous reviewers for their insights, questions and comments, and to the editors for inviting me to be part of this volume.

<sup>2</sup> But see the end of section 3.

identification as *faire*-infinitive or ECM. This very high amount of ambiguous data is in part due to the large number of sentences with arbitrary null subjects found in the texts (see Davies, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 1996). But it is also a consequence of the particularities of the syntax of word order in Old Portuguese, which makes some of the standard syntactic tests used to separate *faire*-infinitive from ECM structures in contemporary Portuguese not applicable to the earlier stages of the language (as will be clarified farther on in this section). The sentences in (1) and (2) below are extracted from *Demanda* and allow us to clearly separate the ECM structures, represented in (1), from the *faire*-infinitive structures, illustrated in (2).

*ECM:*

- (1) a. porque o uy doer-sse bem de seus  
because him.ACC saw ache-himself well of his  
pecados  
sins  
'because I really saw him suffer, on account of his  
sins'  
(*Demanda*, fol. 101v)
- b. feze-os iurar que fizessem todos seu  
made-them.ACC swear that would do all his  
mãdado  
will  
'he made them all swear that they would comply with  
his orders'  
(*Demanda*, fol.198r)
- c. Ali ueriades el Rey doo fazer e bater as  
there would see the king pain do.INF and clap the  
palmas  
hands  
'There you would see the king show great pain and  
clap his hands'  
(*Demanda*, fol.190r)

*Faire-infinitive:*

- (2) a. E Meraugis, quando o uyu armar, disse  
and Meraugis when him.ACC saw arm.INF said  
que por elle ueera ali e cõ ele se querya  
that for he had come there and with he *SE* wanted  
yr. E armou-se e sobiu em seu caualo  
go and armed-himself and rose in his horse

‘And Meraugis, when he saw him [Erec] arm himself, said that he had come to support him and would go with him. Then he armed himself and mounted his horse’

(*Demanda*, fol.106r)

- b. E *fazerde-lhes* *saber* *que*  
and make.INF.2PL-them.DAT know.INF that  
*seredes* *hi* *com* *ells* *em* *sua* *ajuda*  
will be.2PL there with them in their help  
‘Make known to them that you will be there to help them’

(*Demanda*, fol.149r)

- c. Quando o *homẽ* *boo* *que* *i* *estava* *vyyu* *a*  
when the man good that there was saw to  
*Gualuõ* *tall* *doo* *fazer*  
Galvam such pain do  
‘When the good man who was staying there saw Galvam show such pain’

(*Demanda*, fol.101v)

- d. *muytas* *marauilhas* *que* *deus* *per* *sa* *graça* *fez* *a*  
many wonders that God by his grace made to  
*mj* *acabar*  
me finish  
‘the many wonders that God, by his grace, made me accomplish’

(*Demanda*, fol.177r)

Example (1a) contrasts with (2a) with respect to the presence/absence of the reflexive pronoun in the infinitival complement of the perception verb. In both sentences an inherent reflexive verb is present in the infinitival clause (note that the second occurrence of the verb *armar-se* ‘arm oneself’ in (2a) proves that the verb is reflexive). But the reflexive pronoun *se* is only realized in (1a) while in (2a) it is absent. This difference indicates that (1a) is an ECM structure while (2a) is a *faire*-infinitive structure. In (1a) the reflexive pronoun is bound and licensed by the accusative infinitival subject; in (2a) the *faire*-infinitive construction creates a complex predicate and a mono-clausal domain where the reflexive pronoun cannot be licensed because there is no infinitival subject. Examples (1b) *versus* (2b) display the typical difference in Case marking of the causee argument that distinguishes ECM structures from *faire*-infinitive structures.

The causee in (1b) exhibits accusative Case assigned by the causative verb since infinitival T(ense) is defective, thus unable to assign Nominative Case to the infinitival subject. In (2b) the causee displays Dative Case because the *faire*-infinitive construction transforms it into the dative complement of the complex predicate. Examples (3a) and (3b) show exactly the same accusative-dative alternation, with the difference that the causee is not represented by a clitic pronoun. In this type of sentences it is the presence or absence of the dative-marking preposition *a* ‘to’ that indicates whether we are dealing with accusative or dative Case assignment. Example (2d) explicitly shows that the preposition *a* ‘to’ assigns dative Case since the strong pronoun that surfaces after the preposition displays the particular morphological form corresponding to dative/oblique.<sup>3</sup>

In sentence (1a) above there is cliticization to the infinitive, which is an uncommon pattern for Old Portuguese. With a few known exceptions, clitic climbing normally occurred in the syntactic contexts where it is currently optional (Martins, 2006). Under (3) are listed the exceptional cases of cliticization to the infinitive in clitic climbing contexts that could be tracked down in medieval Portuguese texts.<sup>4</sup> As for examples (3c) and (3d), recall that the thirteenth century text *Arimateia* only survived through a sixteenth century copy that modified the original text in various ways. Still there is a constant across these exceptional Old Portuguese sentences with enclisis to the infinitival verb in typical contexts of clitic climbing (which extend beyond the structures with causative/perception verbs as illustrated by (3e-f)). In all the examples, the enclitic pronoun is the reflexive *se* and it is always attached to an inherent reflexive verb.<sup>5</sup> Maybe, as I have

<sup>3</sup> I am here abstracting from the fact that in Old Portuguese the preposition *a* could occasionally precede an accusative DP bearing a [human] feature (like in contemporary Spanish), so adding a further instance of potential ambiguity to the structures under discussion (Martins, 2006. pp. 334-336). The occurrence of the preposition *a* before a [+hum] direct objects is, nevertheless, a rare option in medieval Portuguese texts (see Döhla, 2014).

<sup>4</sup> Note that sentences involving gapping of the finite verb in coordination structures make clitic climbing unavailable. Therefore, cliticization to the infinitival verb is normally found in this type of syntactic configuration, as illustrated in (i).

(i) mandou-o      filhar      e      atar      as mãos e      os pees e      deita-llo  
made.3SG-him catch.INF and tie.INF the hands and the feet and throw.INF-him  
em hũu carçer.  
in a cell  
‘And he made them catch him and tie his hands and feet and throw him in a cell.’  
(Demanda, fol. 58r)

<sup>5</sup> Thanks to one of the reviewers for the following important observation:

suggested elsewhere (Martins, 2006), these were cases of exceptional morphological cliticization, which would be compatible with the hypothesis that in Old Portuguese infinitives selected by clitic climbing verbs did not include an appropriate functional position to support syntactic cliticization.

- (3) a. porque o uy doer-sse bem de sseus  
because him.ACC saw ache-himself well of his  
pecados  
sins  
'because I really saw him suffer, on account of his  
sins'  
(*Demanda*, fol.101v)
- b. E seus jmjgos tãbem o louuauã e  
and his enemies also him praised and  
preçauã mujto tãto o ujam bẽ  
appreciated much so much him.ACC saw well  
*defender-se*  
defend-himself  
'And his enemies praised and appreciated him greatly  
because they saw him defend-himself so valiantly'  
(*Demanda*, fol.150v)
- c. E o mensageiro andou tanto que vio  
and the messenger walked so much that saw.3SG  
Tolomer *partir-se*.  
Tolomer leave-*SE*  
'And the messenger went so far that he saw Tolomer  
leave.'  
(*Arimateia*, fol. 50r)
- d. vio no mar *alevantar-se* ãa gram  
saw.3SG in.the sea rise up-*SE* a great  
tempestade.  
storm

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The output of clitic climbing in (3a) and (3b) should place the clitic *se* in a position adjacent to the third person accusative clitic, which is not allowed [in contemporary European Portuguese] (\**se-o*/\**so*). Thus, if this co-occurrence restriction were also at play in Old Portuguese, (3a) and (3b) should not allow climbing (or if climbing were enforced, (3a) and (3b) should involve a case of lower copy pronunciation).

It could also be the case that ECM structures in Old Portuguese did not differ from ECM structures in contemporary European Portuguese in disallowing clitic climbing (we will return to this unsettled matter later in the paper).

- ‘he saw a great storm rise up on the sea’  
(*Arimateia*, fol. 96r)
- e. E quando quiser *espedir-se*  
and when want.FUT.SBJV.3SG say farewell.INF-SE  
del  
of.he  
‘And when you want to say farewell to some lord’  
(*Foro Real*. Quoted by Vieira da Silva, 2003, p. 324)
- f. Onde os que moram a cabo destas eygreias  
where the ones that live.3PL at top of.these churches  
nõ podem hyr *confessar-sse*  
not can.3PL go.INF confess.INF-themselves  
‘So that the ones that live close to these churches  
cannot go to confession’  
(*Primeira Partida*. Quoted by Vieira da Silva, 2003,  
p. 147)

Anyhow, the occurrence in the Old Portuguese texts of sentences like (3a-b) above, to be compared with sentences like (4) below, appear to indicate that Old Portuguese did not substantially differ from contemporary Portuguese as for the relation between causative/perception structures and clitic climbing. That is to say, object clitics obligatorily climbed in *faire*-infinitive structures, like (4), but not in ECM structures, as shown by (3a-b), although the issue on whether they *could* climb remains unsettled.<sup>6</sup>

- (4) e rogarom-lhe *que lha fizesse etender*  
and begged-him that them.DAT.it.ACC made understand  
‘And asked him to make them understand it [the story].’  
(*Demanda*, fol. 98r)

<sup>6</sup> That is to say, as far as the current investigation on causative/perception structures in Old Portuguese goes, we do not have crystal clear evidence that a sentence like (i) below is not ambiguous between *faire*-infinitive and ECM.

- (i) eu vo-lo farei aver aa vossa vontade e toste  
I you.DAT/ACC-it.ACC will make have at your will and swiftly  
‘I will make you have it at your will, and swiftly.’  
(*Demanda*, fol. 183v)

The fact that the accusative object clitic *lo* climbed, would mean under standard tests for contemporary Portuguese that we would be dealing with the *faire*-infinitive construction, since presently object clitics cannot climb in the ECM construction. But syntactic tests devised to deal with contemporary Portuguese may not be pertinent for Old Portuguese. The clitic *vo(s)* ‘you’ is ambiguous between accusative and dative as morphology does not distinguish between the two cases for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns.

In example (4), the Dative marking of the causee argument shows that the sentence displays the *faire*-infinitive construction. That clitic climbing of both clitic complements of the complex predicate (i.e. the dative clitic *lhes* ‘them’ and the accusative clitic *a* ‘it’) takes place, is thus expected. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily indicate that *faire*-infinitive and ECM structures display similar degrees of functional defectiveness of the infinitival domain in Old and contemporary Portuguese. The fact that negation is never found in ECM infinitives in Old Portuguese, for example, points to a higher degree of defectiveness than in contemporary Portuguese (Martins, 2006, 2012). But even if ECM infinitives were functionally or featurally defective in such a way that they would exclude syntactic cliticization, the matter of fact is that I have not been able to find an unambiguous example of clitic climbing out of an ECM infinitival clause.<sup>7</sup> It might be that neither clitic climbing nor syntactic cliticization inside the infinitival clause used to be a grammatical option in Old Portuguese ECM structures. Accordingly, this could be the reason why the *faire*-infinitive construction would be the only available option in sentences like (5) below. The clitic sequence formed by the first person accusative followed by the third person dative is impossible nowadays and very rare in the Old Portuguese texts (Martins, 1994). But if only reflexive *se* of inherent reflexive verbs was allowed within the infinitival complement of an ECM structure, an ECM variant of the *faire*-infinitive sentence in (5) would be impossible in Old Portuguese.

- (5) Deos *me*        *lhe*        *leixe fazer*    tal    serujço em esta  
       God   me.ACC him.DAT let    do.INF such service in    this  
       demanda que *lhe*        apraza  
       quest        that him.DAT pleases  
       ‘May God let me serve him in this quest in such a way that  
       will please him.’  
       (*Demanda*, fol. 59r)

I will not discuss in this paper what would be the exact structure of ECM infinitives in Old Portuguese. For my current purposes, I will just assume that ECM infinitives were TPs but the featural make-up of T might not be such that it would be appropriate to license syntactic cliticization, understood as attachment to T. More importantly, in other respects ECM structures display similar features in Old and contemporary Portuguese and

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<sup>7</sup> It is the clitic complement of the infinitival verb that is relevant here, as the accusative infinitival subject always climbs (at all stages of the history of Portuguese).



differ from *faire*-infinitive structures in the same central ways, as the data shown in (1) and (2) above demonstrate. In the remainder of this section I will focus on discussing the diachronic path that relates the two types of structures and argue for the hypothesis that in the history of Portuguese (and presumably also Spanish) ECM structures originated from *faire*-infinitive structures. Since we can find both ECM and *faire*-infinitive structures in Portuguese texts from the thirteenth century, the chronology of the attested examples is *prima facie* not of great help. That is to say, if from the beginnings of the written production in Portuguese the two types of structures are attested, how can the hypothesis that ECM evolved from *faire*-infinitive be supported?

Mark Davies was the first author to lead an in-depth investigation of the diachronic development of causative structures in Spanish and Portuguese, based upon extensive data extracted from corpora (Davies, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 1996). Guided by quantitative indicators, he identifies the ECM construction as “innovative” with respect to the *faire*-infinitive construction. In fact, ECM sentences are attested but infrequent in Old Portuguese. The rise in frequency over time is compatible with the ECM structure being an innovation.<sup>8</sup>

Geolinguistic evidence agrees with Davies’ frequency indicators as the geolinguistic distribution of *faire*-infinitive across the Romance area is more widespread than ECM, the latter arising without restrictions only in Portuguese and Spanish (see Ciutescu, 2013, and Soares da Silva, 2012) for an up-to-date overview and bibliographical references). Within the Portuguese territory, the geolinguistic distribution of ECM and *faire*-infinitive structures somehow mirrors what is found in the larger Romance area (Pereira, 2013), although ECM seems to be the preferred option in the standard written language in contemporary European Portuguese (Andrade, 2010; Soares da Silva, 2012). Pereira (2013) investigated the distribution of the different types of infinitival complements of causative and perception verbs in the Portuguese territory using the data of the Corpus CORDIAL-

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<sup>8</sup> Andrade (2010), Fiéis and Madeira (2013) and Soares da Silva (2012) offer relevant quantitative information. Using very restrictive criteria to contrastively identify *faire*-infinitive and ECM structures in Old Portuguese texts, I could find c. 10% sentences displaying *faire*-infinitive in *Demanda* (both with causative and perception verbs) but only 1,2% ECM sentences with causative verbs and 5% with perception verbs. Note that I analyzed as structurally ambiguous a large number of sentences that would be classifiable as either *faire*-infinitive or ECM if all the syntactic tests devised for contemporary Portuguese could be applied to Old Portuguese.

SIN, which features spoken rural dialects across continental Portugal and the island of Azores and Madeira. She shows that while *faire*-infinitive structures are attested everywhere, with no spatial limitations, the geolinguistic distribution of ECM and inflected infinitival complements of causative and perception verbs is restricted to particular areas. ECM with causative verbs appears in a Southern continental and insular area. ECM with perception verbs is more widespread but not general. It appears in the islands of Azores and Madeira and occupies the Western part of Portugal, extending from up North to the extreme South (also in the broader Romance domain, ECM is more widespread with perception than with causative verbs). The two geolinguistic areas identified by Pereira (2013) within the Portuguese territory actually display unsurprising spatial contours for a syntactic innovation (see Pereira forthcoming), i.e. the development of the ECM construction from the *faire*-infinitive construction.

On strictly logical, linguistic terms, it is also natural to think of the ECM construction as the connecting link between the early *faire*-infinitive construction and the inflected infinitive structures that will emerge in the fifteenth century. Under this perspective, the change displays a consistent path of step-like functional enrichment of the infinitival complements of causative/perception verbs, which progressively become less defective and therefore display a greater degree of syntactic independence across time.

We may wonder if this scenario is not contradictory with the existence in Classical Latin of a construction known as *Accusativus cum Infinitivo* (AccInf) that could be the ancestor of the Romance ECM structure. As a matter of fact, the Latin AccInf construction is clearly distinct from the Romance ECM construction. The accusative subject of Latin infinitivals is found in clauses where the accusative Case cannot be assigned by the main finite verb, as exemplified in (6) below. In (6a) the infinitival clause is the complement of the nominal predicate *rumor erat* ('there was a rumor') and in (6b) it is the complement of a passive verb. In both instances the Accusative case displayed by the infinitival subject cannot be assigned by the main predicate, which indicates that in the Latin AccInf construction either the Accusative displayed by the embedded subject is a default Case or it is assigned internally to the infinitival clause (see Bolkestein, 1979; Cechetto & Oniga, 2002; Pillinger, 1980) for discussion). In any event, what matters to us here is the fact that the Latin AccInf construction illustrated in (6) is distinct from the Romance ECM construction.

- (6) a. Rem te valde bene gessisse

thing.ACC you.ACC very well to have handled  
 rumor erat  
 rumor.NOM was  
 ‘It was reported that you had handled the problem  
 very well.’  
 (Cic. *Fam.* 1,8,7)

- b. Traditum est etiam Homerum caecum  
 related is also Homer.ACC blind.ACC  
 fuisse  
 to have been  
 ‘It has been related that Homer was blind, too.’  
 (Cic. *Tusc.* 5,39,114) Examples taken from Cechetto  
 and Oniga (2002).

As early as the first century BC, Miller (1992) attests in Vulgar Latin what appears to be an instance of the *faire*-infinitive construction, and other authors who investigated Late Latin texts of the Gallo-Romance area report the occurrence of infinitival structures that can be analyzed as mono-clausal, including examples with dative marking of the causee (see Chamberlain, 1986; Norberg, 1974). The Latin legal texts produced in the Portuguese territory between the tenth and the twelfth centuries seem to provide evidence in the same direction. In the corpus studied by Vieira da Silva (2003) the bi-clausal ECM construction is not attested. The sentence in (7) below is the early Vulgar Latin example that Miller (1992) so comments:

Varro’s example from rural speech ... anticipates the Romance construction with the causee after the verb complex. Since this is an unusual linearization pattern for Latin, it is reasonable to conclude that the construction had long been in use in Vulgar (or rural) speech and already by Varro’s time (first century BCE) developed a relatively ‘frozen’ linearization that would predominate in Romance. (Miller, 1992, p. 260).

- (7) dēsīderium arborum marcēscere  
 Desire.NOM tree.GEN languid.INCH.INF  
 facit volucrēs inclūsūs  
 make.PRS.IND.3SG winged.ACC enclosed.ACC  
 ‘Longing for trees makes captive birds waste away.’  
 (Varro, *De Rustica* 3.5.3. Taken from Miller, 1992, p. 260)

Before we finish this section, we will have to ask how *faire*-infinitive structures would have given rise to ECM structures in the history of Portuguese. Besides the well known cases of ambiguity between the two types of structures, there is a further type of ambiguity that must be considered when we deal with Old Portuguese, although the extant literature (including the papers by the author) has ignored it. In turn, I would like to suggest that this further case of ambiguity related to constituent order might have played an important role in the emergence of the ECM construction.<sup>9</sup>

Constituent order is commonly used as a test to distinguish ECM from *faire*-infinitive structures in contemporary Portuguese. When the infinitival verb does not select a direct object, the position of the causee argument, preceding or following the infinitival verb, is considered to be a reliable indicator of a particular type of structure. Thus, in (8a) the fact that the causee argument surfaces in preverbal position indicates that it is the subject of the infinitival clause of an ECM structure. On the other hand, the postverbal position of the causee in (8b) indicates that it is the complement of the complex predicate in a *faire*-infinitive structure. This is confirmed by the examples in (9) where the reflexive pronoun *se* is used as an additional indicator to tease apart the two types of structure. The reflexive pronoun obligatorily occurs inside the infinitival complement of the ECM construction in (9a) but is excluded in the *faire*-infinitive construction in (9b), even though *deitar-se* is an inherent reflexive verb.

- (8) a. Vi os animais morrer com sede.  
saw.1SG the animals die.INF with thirst  
b. Vi morrer os animais com sede.  
saw.1SG die.INF the animals with thirst  
'I saw the animals die of thirst.'
- (9) a. Mandeí as crianças deitar-\*(se).  
sent.1SG the children lie down.INF-SE  
b. Mandeí deitar-(\*se) as crianças.

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<sup>9</sup> See Davies (1992, 1995a, 1995b, 1996) for a different view. Davies observes that null arbitrary subjects were highly frequent in causative structures at earlier times and explains this fact as a consequence of the morphological merger in Late Latin between the active and passive infinitives of most verbs (passive clauses being often agentless). The very high frequency of null subjects would be felt as 'unnatural' and the expression of the agent subject would gradually become a more common option as the active interpretation of the relevant structures gained ground. Then the fact that the infinitival clause often displayed an overt referential subject would have favored its reanalysis as a non-reduced clause, paving the way for the emergence of both the ECM construction and the inflected infinitive.

sent.1SG lie down.INF-SE the children  
 ‘I sent the children to bed.’

A similar reasoning has been used to analyze Old Portuguese data by all the authors that studied the diachronic evolution of causative and perception verbs. However, particular traits of the syntax of word order in Old Portuguese make the surface position of the causee an unreliable test to split apart ECM and *faire*-infinitive at earlier stages of the history of Portuguese. Old Portuguese allowed object scrambling, understood as leftward movement of the object to the middle field, which derived the order OV from the basic VO pattern (Martins, 2002, 2011). The OV order is found in finite subordinate clauses but also in infinitival clauses. Crucially, it can be found in *faire*-infinitive structures as the examples in (10) show. Because object scrambling was optional, different linearization options arose, either displaying no leftward movement of the non-clitic object (see (10a)) or displaying leftward movement of one (see (10b-c)) or several complements of the complex predicate (see (10d-e)).<sup>10</sup> Therefore, it is impossible to know if the constituents underlined in (11) below correspond to the infinitival subject of the ECM construction or the direct object of the complex predicate in the *faire*-infinitive construction. This adds one more instance of ambiguity to the Old Portuguese data, when compared to

<sup>10</sup> Less often, we can also find in the texts sentences like (ia-c) below, where the scrambled object surfaces to the left of the two verbs forming a complex predicate.

- (i) a. quẽ sodes uos            que m'        esto mãdades fazer ?  
           who are    you.NOM    that me.DAT this    send.2PL do.INF  
           ‘Who are you that order me to do this?’  
           (*Demanda*, fol. 167r)
- b. sãõ por em    tam triste cada        que della    ouço fallar  
           am for    that so    sad    each time that of.her hear    talk.INF  
           ‘That is why I am so greatly sad whenever I hear talk about her’  
           (*Demanda*, fol. 42v)
- c. quando a espada viu            vïir  
           when    the sword    saw.3SG come.INF  
           ‘when he saw the sword coming’  
           (*Demanda*, fol. 197v)

These examples seem to indicate that *faire*-infinitive structures could display different degrees of defectiveness of the infinitival domain. In the sentences where the scrambled object surfaces between the two verbs, like in (10) above, in contrast to (ia-b), it has presumably stayed within the infinitival domain, which signals that like in contemporary Portuguese *faire*-infinitive infinitivals included some functional structure above the verb phrase (see Duarte & Gonçalves, 2002; Gonçalves, 1999; Gonçalves & Duarte, 2001). I am assuming that scrambling deriving the OV order is movement of a maximal projection to a functional specifier position (Martins, 2002, 2011).

contemporary Portuguese. Importantly, ambiguous sentences like (11) may have played a significant role in the reanalysis of *faire*-infinitive sentences as ECM sentences.<sup>11</sup> It would suffice for that end that the pre-infinitival DP be parsed as the subject of the infinitival clause.

- (10) a. foy marauilhado de que lhi uiu fazer  
 was marveled of that him.DAT saw do.INF  
tal doo  
 such pain  
 ‘He marveled that he saw him show such pain.’  
 (*Demanda*, fol. 174r)
- b. quando chegou a ella e lhe vio tal doo  
 when arrived to she and her.DAT saw such pain  
 fazer  
 do.INF  
 ‘when he reached her and saw her show such pain’  
 (*Demanda*, fol. 45v)
- c. porẽ uos rogo que...leyxedes aa donzella  
 for-that you.DAT beg that let.2PL to.the lady  
 dar o que lhe demãdamos  
 give.INF the what her.DAT ask.2PL

<sup>11</sup> Sentences like (i) below show, on the other hand, that the infinitival subject of ECM structures could surface after the infinitival verb in Old Portuguese, so that this rightward placement of the causee is not a reliable indicator for a particular construction either. Note that the presence of the reflexive clitic *se* proves that (i) is an example of the ECM construction. Actually, the post-infinitival position of the subject is also possible in contemporary European Portuguese as a means to give the clause-final subject DP informational prominence, thus deriving a VOS structure, as shown in (ii). The fact that the sentence displays an unaccusative verb in the infinitival clause is a facilitating factor for the postverbal position of the subject but does not seem to be a necessary condition (see (iii)).

- (i) vio no mar alevantar-se ãa gram tempestade, que parecia que a pena se  
 saw in.the sea rise up.INF-*SE* a great storm that seemed that the rock *SE*  
 queria derribar.  
 wanted to fall apart  
 ‘he saw a great storm rise up on the sea, such that the rock seemed on the verge of  
 falling apart’  
 (*Arimateia*, fol. 96r)
- (ii) Viu levantar-se no mar uma grande tempestade.  
 saw rise up.INF-*SE* in.the sea a great storm  
 ‘(S)he saw a great storm rise up on the sea.’
- (iii) Quando eu vi ultrapassá-las a atleta portuguesa...  
 when I saw outrun-them the athlete Portuguese  
 ‘Wen I saw the Portuguese athlete outrun them...’

'So I beg you to let the lady give us what we are asking her for.'

(*Demanda*, fol. 145v)

- d. Quando o homẽ boo que i estava vyu a  
when the man good that there was saw to  
*Gualuõ tall doo fazer*  
Galvam such pain do  
'When the good man who was staying there saw  
Galvam show such pain'  
(*Demanda*, fol. 101v)

- e. nũca uj a homem tal coita leuar em  
never saw to man such suffering display in  
sonhos  
dreams  
'I have never seen anybody else display such distress  
while dreaming'  
(*Demanda*, fol. 74v)

- (11) a. Quando ell vio a donzella chorar  
when he saw the lady cry.INF  
'When he saw the lady cry'  
(*Demanda*, fol. 84v)
- b. e vio a donzella rrir  
and saw the lady laugh.INF  
'He saw the lady laugh'  
(*Demanda*, fol. 93v)
- c. Quando ella uiu Erec cabo de sua irmãa seer  
when she saw Erec next to her sister be.INF  
'When she saw Erec stay by her sister'  
(*Demanda*, fol. 105r)
- d. Quando Gujglaym vio Galaaz chegar aa ponte  
when Gujglaym saw Galaaz arrive to.the bridge  
'When Gujglaym saw Galaaz reach the bridge'  
(*Demanda*, fol. 153r)

To summarize: Word order is not a reliable criterion to distinguish between the two relevant types of structures in Old Portuguese because object scrambling may make the direct object of the *faire*-infinitive construction appear before the infinitival verb and look like the infinitival subject of the ECM structures. On the other hand, these ambiguous contexts where the direct object of *faire*-infinitive structures could be interpreted as

the subject of the infinitival clause might have been the relevant context leading to change. This explanation can easily extend to Spanish since the constituent order facts described for Old Portuguese in relation to object scrambling are found in Old Spanish as well.

The next section will deal with the emergence of the inflected infinitive in the complements of causative and perception verbs. The previous existence of the ECM construction seems to have worked as a push factor since in both types of structure the infinitival domain is an independent clause with its own subject. The main difference is that in the inflected infinitive structure the subject is assigned Nominative Case by the infinitival verb while in the ECM structure the infinitival subject is assigned Accusative Case by the finite verb due to the defective nature of infinitival T.

Cituescu (2013) proposes that coordination structures may offer a reliable test to signal when the causee argument is structurally the infinitival subject even if it receives Case from a category external to the infinitival clause. The reasoning behind this new syntactic test devised to tease apart ECM and *faire*-infinitive structures is that only if the infinitival domain constitutes an independent clause (instead of being a constitutive part of a complex predicate) can it undergo coordination with other infinitival clauses. The series of coordinated non-finite clauses depends upon the same main predicate that licenses them. The sentences in (12) illustrate the relevant configuration and according to Cituescu (2013) are instances of the ECM construction. In the next section it will be proposed that coordinate structures involving gapping of a causative/perception verb constitute the relevant configuration prompting the emergence of the inflected infinitive in causative/perception structures (although an additional ingredient will have to be introduced).

- (12) a. Estas tres cousas o ffaziam fficar na  
these three things him.ACC made stay.INF in.the  
riba e ffazer orações a nosso Senhor  
margin and do.INF prays to our Lord  
'These three things were making him stay on the  
margin of the river and pray to the Lord.'  
(*Demanda*, fol. 82v)
- b. Mas enpero quẽ no entom vise  
but however who him.ACC then would-see  
dar golpes e receber nõ lhe  
give.INF blows and receive.INF not him.DAT



semelharia couardo nem preguiçoso.

would seem coward nor lazy

‘But whoever might have seen him give and receive blows wouldn’t have thought him coward or lazy.’

(*Demanda*, fol. 89v)

- c. Ali ueriades el Rey doo fazer e bater as  
there would see the king pain do.INF and clap the  
palmas  
hands  
‘There you would see the king show great pain and  
clap his hands’  
(*Demanda*, fol.190r)
- d. E quando vio o padre e o ffilho jazer  
and when saw the father and the son lie.INF  
mortos e o caualleiro ferjdo  
dead and the knight hurt  
‘and when he saw father and son lie dead and the  
knight lie hurt’  
(*Demanda*, fol. 27v)

### 3. From ECM structures to the emergence of the inflected infinitive

We might think that the main ingredient accounting for the additional step of change leading from ECM to the emergence of the inflected infinitive in the complements of causative and perception verbs would be the very existence of the inflected infinitive in the language. However, this is a necessary but not a sufficient condition as demonstrated by Galician. Although the inflected infinitive is part of Galician grammar, causative structures exclude it (Álvarez & Xove, 2002; Gondar, 1978; Sousa Fernández, 1998). So the evolution from ECM to inflected infinitives in the syntactic contexts discussed in this paper is not a trivial diachronic development. I will now try to understand how the change happened in Portuguese.

The inflected infinitive is commonly found in Old Portuguese in most contexts that allow it in contemporary Portuguese, which are typically

embedded domains, but root inflected infinitives are also attested.<sup>12</sup> The relevant clauses have an imperative import and are either independent clauses or the matrix part of a conditional or a temporal construction. These infinitival clauses expressing a stipulation or a strong wish are well attested from the late twelfth century up to the sixteenth century. Sentence (13) below is given by way of illustration of the Old Portuguese independent inflected infinitive. Example (14) shows how in Old Portuguese such mandatory infinitival clauses alternate with subjunctive clauses in similar textual contexts. In contemporary Portuguese the relevant alternation between subjunctive and inflected infinitive is lost. Sentences such as (13) and (14a) below, with the inflected infinitive, would be ungrammatical nowadays, only equivalent mandatory sentences with subjunctive verbal inflection being a grammatical option.

- (13) E *ffazersse* o vinho no nosso lagar...  
and make.INF.3SG-SE the wine in.the our wine press  
E *pagardes* a lagaragem  
and pay.INF.2PL the wine press use  
'And the wine is to be made in our wine press and you shall pay for using it'

(Legal document, year 1381. Martins, 2001b, p. 458)

- (14) a. E *ffazerem* a dita cassa e  
and build.INF.3PL the said house and  
*refazerem* de todo casso forttoyto  
rebuild.INF.3PL from any event accidental  
'and they will build and rebuild the house after any accidental bad event'

(Legal document, year 1407. Martins, 2002, p. 247)

- b. E *a faça* e  
and it build.SBJV.PRS.3SG and  
*refaça* de todo caso furtuyto  
rebuild.SBJV.PRS.3SG from any event accidental  
'and he will build and rebuild the house after any accidental bad event'

(Legal document, year 1414. Martins, 2002, p. 477)

- c. E *fazerde-lhes* saber que seredes

<sup>12</sup> There are different theories on the origin of the Portuguese inflected infinitive. The one that seems empirically better supported defends that the inflected infinitive stems from the Latin imperfect subjunctive. See Martins (2001a), Harris (2013) and Wireback (1994) for details and references.

and make.INF.2PL-them know.INF that will be.2PL  
 hi com eles em sua ajuda ... e  
 there with them in their help and  
*poede-lhes* dia.  
 put.SBJV.PRS.2PL-them day  
 ‘And make known to them that you will be there to  
 help them ... and let them know when.’  
 (*Demanda*, fol.149r)

The existence in Old Portuguese of these root mandatory inflected infinitives allowed a kind of structural ambiguity in coordinate structures involving gapping of the finite verb, which I take to be the configuration where ECM infinitives were reanalyzed as inflected infinitives. Example (15) below illustrates the relevant kind of ambiguity, showing how two different structures can be associated with the same sentential string. One of the structures displays a root inflected infinitive (see (15b)), the other displays gapping licensed by coordination and an inflected infinitive in the complement of the gapped causative verb (see 15c)). This second possibility corresponds to the innovation that the interplay between coordination, gapping and root inflected infinitives made possible.<sup>13</sup> See Martins (2006, 2012) for further details.

(15) a. *Attested example*

<sup>13</sup> As one reviewer pinpoints (15a) can receive a further structural description, namely, that both infinitivals are coordinate arguments of the higher predicate *fosse nossa mercee*. I put aside this third option because it seems irrelevant to understand the syntactic change under discussion. The reviewer asks why the child would favor the more complex structural analysis of (15a) as gapping instead of the ‘simpler’ analysis of coordination without gapping. I will not go here into discussing the child’s path of acquisition of different types of coordination structures (see Lust, Flynn, Chien, & Krawiec, 2009, and Stoyanova, 2011, for relevant discussion), but it is well known that children command ellipsis structures from very early (see Santos, 2009). Moreover, as the same reviewer notes, other examples in the paper rule out a simple coordinate structure analysis. Referring to example (18), the reviewer states:

Assuming the author’s approach to OV in terms of scrambling, one cannot maintain an analysis of (18a) in terms of coordination of two infinitivals as the complement of *conuẽ*, for scrambling only the first infinitival would violate the Coordinate Structure Constraint.

If the causative verb in (15a) (which is itself an inflected infinitive) was not embedded under a higher predicate, the simple coordinate structure analysis would also be excluded. Finally, it is important to bear in mind that the actual sentences attested in medieval documents or literary texts were certainly not the input for L1 acquisition, although they suggest what might have been the relevant input for acquisition and change.

E que fosse nossa mercee mandarmos que  
and that should be our kind will order.1PL that  
husem de seus officios e per suas mortes  
use.3PL of their business licenses and by their deaths  
nom *seerem* dados a outros  
not *be.INF.3PL* given to others

b. *Analysis as two independent sentences, S2 a root infinitival*

E que fosse nossa mercee mandarmos  
and that should be our kind will order.INF.1PL  
que husem de seus officios. E per suas  
that use.3PL of their business licenses. And by their  
mortes nom *seerem* dados a outros  
deaths not *be.INF.3PL* given to others

c. *Analysis as coordination with gapping of the causative verb*

E que fosse nossa mercee mandarmos; que  
and that should be our kind will order.1PL that  
husem de seus officios e [ — ]i per suas  
use.3PL of their business licenses and by their  
mortes nom *seerem* dados a outros  
deaths not *be.INF.3PL* given to others  
‘[It was suggested to us] that we should be so kind as  
to order that they keep the business licenses they were  
once given and (order that) when they die such  
licenses (should) not be transmitted to others [= new  
brokers]’

(Royal chancellery, 1436. Dias, 1998, p. 382)

For clarification purposes, note that in (15b) the sequence *per suas mortes nom seerem dados a outros* is analyzed as an independent sentence introduced by a coordinate conjunction, in which case there would be coordination at the textual/inter-sentential level. In (15c), instead, the sequence *per suas mortes nom seerem dados a outros* is analyzed as the second member of a coordinate structure that licenses gapping. In example (15c), the gapped site is marked and the verbal gap antecedent (that is, the causative verb *mandarmos*) is underlined. So, the syntactic constituent introduced by the coordinate conjunction might be read either as an independent mandatory inflected infinitival sentence or as the complement clause of a phonetically unrealized causative verb.

Looking beyond causative and perception structures, new important data are offered by the thirteenth century Arthurian novels *Demanda* and *Arimateia*. These texts show that the impersonal (non-obligatory) object control verb *convir* ‘be convenient, suit, behoove’ displays in what concerns the emergence of the inflected infinitive the same path of change as causative and perception verbs. At the same time, the role played in the change by structurally ambiguous contexts of the type above identified seems to receive additional confirmation.

In *Demanda* the infinitival complement of the object control verb *convir* is always uninflected, as exemplified in (16).<sup>14</sup> Interestingly, the verb *convir* allows clitic climbing, as exemplified by sentence (17), which would be ungrammatical in contemporary Portuguese. The contrast between Old and contemporary Portuguese as for the grammatical status of (17) indicates once more that we cannot project our knowledge of the current state of the language upon earlier stages. This consequently supports the claim in section 2 that whether ECM structures allowed clitic climbing or not is an unsettled issue.

- (16) a. *cõuẽ-uos sair desta e jr em*  
suits you.DAT get out.INF of.this and go.INF in  
aquella  
that  
‘It’s better for you to get out of this boat and get into  
that other’  
(*Demanda*, fol. 138v)
- b. Mas ora chegou ia termo en que vos  
but now arrived already moment in which you.DAT  
*cõvẽ ia de mi partir*  
suits already of me leave.INF  
‘But now it is already time for you to get away from  
me’  
(*Demanda*, fol. 195v)
- (17) nosso hirmão he e *cõvẽ-no-llo amar como*  
our brother is and suits-us.DAT-him.ACC love how  
quer. que o os outros desamẽ  
is that him.ACC the others dislike  
‘He is our brother and we must love him no matter how much

<sup>14</sup> There are 51 occurrences of *convir* with an infinitival complement in *Demanda*, all of them with an uninflected infinitive.

the others dislike him.’

(*Demanda*, fol. 97r)

Although the inflected infinitive is not found in the complement of *convir* in *Demanda*, sentence (18) below displays exactly the same kind of structural ambiguity as (15) above. Hence, the same type of syntactic configurations may lie behind the emergence of the inflected infinitive with different classes of verbs. The diachronic facts about *convir* bring (non-obligatory) control verbs into the domain of historical inquiry that up until now has focused on causative and perception structures.

(18) a. *Attested example*

Emtom tornou mūy toste e foy aa donzella  
 then returned very fast and went to.the lady  
 e filhou-a pello freo e disse-lhe: *Donzella*,  
 and grabbed-her by the bridle and told-her: Lady,  
*a tornar vos conuẽ e hirdes comigo*  
 to return you.DAT suits and go.INF.2PL with.me  
*que assy me praz.*  
 that so me pleases

b. *Analysis as two independent sentences, S2 a root infinitival*

Donzella, a tornar vos conuẽ. E hirdes  
 Lady, to return you.DAT suits. And go.INF.2PL  
 comigo que assy me praz.  
 with.me that so me pleases

c. *Analysis as coordination with gapping of the causative verb*

Donzella, a tornar vos conuẽ<sub>i</sub> e [ — ]<sub>i</sub>  
 Lady, to return you.DAT suits and  
*hirdes* comigo que assy me praz.  
 go.INF.2PL with.me that so me pleases  
 ‘Then he went back very fast and grabbed the bridle  
 of the lady’s horse and told her: *Lady, you must move  
 back and (must) come with me because it pleases me  
 so*’

(*Demanda*, fol. 99r)

In the sixteenth century copy of the text *Arimateia* clear instances of the inflected infinitive under *convir* are found, as exemplified in (19).<sup>15</sup>

- (19) Então disse Elaim a el-rey: – Se tu queres ser são,  
 then said Elaim to the-king if you want to get well  
 primeiramente *te* *convirá leyxares* a ley  
 first you-DAT will suit leave.INF.2SG the law  
 pagam  
 pagan  
 ‘Then the king told Elaim: – If you want to get well, you  
 should abandon the law of the pagans’  
 (*Arimateia*, fol. 300r)

We may wonder why the inflected infinitive arises in the complement of causative/perception verbs as late as the fifteenth century if the syntactic configurations prompting its emergence were a grammatical option much earlier.<sup>16</sup> There are at least two answers to this question. Maybe such configurations were possible but quantitatively inexpressive, as the ECM construction itself displayed a low rate of occurrence (see section 2). Or maybe the inflected infinitive was allowed in the complement of causative and perception verbs before the fifteenth century but not so commonly as to be visible in the written language. As a matter of fact, there is an attestation of an inflected infinitive embedded under a perception verb in *Demanda*. But it is an isolated example and involves a seeming error of copy (*uêẽ* ‘come’ for *uee* ‘see’), which leaves us with the reasonable doubt on whether the example in (20) below – with *uêẽ* ‘come’ corrected to *uee* ‘see’ – originates in the thirteenth century translation or the fifteenth century currently available copy.

- (20) se hũũ caualeiro *uee* *ij muy boos*  
 if a knight sees two very good

<sup>15</sup> Other changes in the syntax of *convir* are also attested in *Arimateia*, such as the subject raising configuration shown in (i). See Martins and Nunes (2005).

(i) a fonte que viste na montanha, onde se convinhão  
 the spring that saw.2SG in.the mountain where SE were convenient.3PL  
 lavar todos os que a festa iam  
 wash.INF all the ones that to.the party went  
 ‘the spring that you saw in the mountain, where everybody that went to the party  
 should wash’  
 (*Arimateia*, fol. 151v)

<sup>16</sup> The fifteenth-sixteenth century corresponds to the chronology generally assumed since Maurer (1968).





two copies are necessarily delivered in paper  
*podendo os restantes serem entregues em suporte*  
 can.GER the remaining be.INF.3PL delivered in support  
 digital.  
 digital

‘Two copies must be delivered in printed version, while the others can be delivered in digital format.’

(*Diário da República*, 2<sup>a</sup> série, n.º 194, 10-10-2011, *Editais* n.º 94/2011)

A particular account has been proposed for each one of these two types of sentences, which seems right because speakers can accept one without accepting the other. In my judgment, for example, (21) is perfectly grammatical while (22) is out. Hornstein et al. (2006, 2008) take (21) to display a simple infinitive, which has its number feature morphologically expressed. The authors assume that the simple infinitive has a nominal character and bears a number feature, but no person feature, which makes it unable to assign Nominative Case and hence distinct from the inflected infinitive. Gonçalves et al. (2014) assume a theory of control as Agree (Landau, 2000, 2004) and see the inflection on the infinitival verb in (22) as a visible morphological sign of the Agree operation that takes place between matrix T and embedded C-T, resulting in spreading of the phi-features of matrix T onto embedded T.

It is not my aim here to go through the details of the accounts of Hornstein et al. (2006, 2008) for sentences like (21) and Gonçalves et al. (2014) for sentences like (22). What I want to show is that none of these cases of apparent inflected infinitives is a recent innovation in the language even if only recently they became a subject of interest in the specialized literature. Moreover, the appearance of these morphologically enriched manifestations of the simple infinitive is not related to the diachronic path of change discussed in this paper, which led from the complex predicate structure of the *faire*-infinitive construction to the full-fledged infinitival structures displaying the inflected infinitive, with ECM structures constituting the diachronic bridge between them.

Sentences like (22), with a control infinitival displaying morphological inflection, are attested as soon as the sixteenth century copy of *Arimateia*, as exemplified in (23) and (24).<sup>18</sup> Since sentences of this type

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<sup>18</sup> On sentences with gapping of the finite verb in coordination structures and variation between the simple and the inflected infinitive, see Martins (2012) and the examples below.

do not occur in *Demanda*, we can safely conclude that they were not part of the thirteenth century original, but were introduced in *Arimateia* by the sixteenth century copyists (Martins, 2013). The fact that these sentences have gone unnoticed by grammarians until recently, although they have been around for many centuries, indicates that they are in a sense marginal since they failed to diffuse and did not become part of the standard written language.<sup>19</sup>

- (23) Ora pois entremos, disserão eles, que, ja porque  
 now so let enter.1PL said they because even though  
 essa besta seja grande e fera, *nom leixaremos d'*  
 that beast is large and fierce not will fail.1PL to  
*entrarmos.*  
 get in.INF.1PL  
 'Let us get in, because even if that beast is large and fierce,  
 we will not fail to get in the boat'  
 (*Arimateia*, fol. 195r)
- (24) E, por aquela aventura que ali aconteceu a el-rey  
 and for that adventure that there happened to the-king  
 Arfasão, *vieram ali depoyos muitos cavaleiros*  
 Arfasão came.3PL there then many knights

- 
- (i) devem teus pees de ser tão limpos que se *nom devem sujar* em nhũa  
 shall your feet to be so clean that *SE* not should get dirty.INF in no  
 maldade, *mas estarem* em oração e em pregação e em confissão  
 evil but be.INF.3PL in prayer and in preaching and in confession  
 'You should keep your feet clean and don't stain them with any wrongdoing, but  
 instead put them in prayer, preaching and confession'  
 (*Arimateia*, fol. 37v)
- (ii) *podem chegar a introduzir* a quem quiserem, e *desviar*  
 can.PRS.3PL get to introduce.INF to who want and remove.INF  
*e excluïrem* a quem não quiserem  
 and exclude.INF.3PL to who not want  
 'They can bring into their circle whoever they wish as they can dismiss and exclude  
 whoever they do not favour'  
 (António Vieira; 17th century. Example taken from In Maurer (1968, p. 166))

<sup>19</sup> Presently they are easily attested in written and spoken corpora. Two examples extracted from the *Syntax-oriented corpus of Portuguese dialects* (CORDIAL-SIN) are given below:

- (i) então *podem levarem* coentros (AJT)  
 then can.3PL take.INF.3PL coriander  
 'Then we can add coriander to it.'
- (ii) *iam falarem* uns com os outros (MTV)  
 went.3PL speak.INF.3PL ones with the others  
 'They would go and speak to each other.'

*provarem* para fazerem i de noute  
 prove.INF.3PL to stay there at night  
 ‘And after that adventure happened to king Arfasão, many  
 knights would come there to prove their courage by staying  
 during the night’  
 (*Arimateia*, fol. 303r)

ECM infinitivals displaying inflection are well attested in the novels of chief nineteenth century Portuguese writers such as Júlio Dinis, Eça de Queirós and Camilo Castelo Branco. This is shown in (25) to (28) with examples taken from *Corpus do Português*. It is probably a matter of time until we are able to attest this kind of sentences in earlier written sources than the nineteenth century ones. The fact that ECM infinitivals displaying inflection are part of the nineteenth century literary standard points to an earlier emergence and diffusion. It remains to understand why these sentences were totally ignored by twentieth century Portuguese grammarians as if they were not part of Portuguese grammar.<sup>20</sup>

- (25) E dentro em pouco viu-as olharem  
 and in a moment saw.3SG-them.ACC look.INF.3PL  
 também para Jorge com certa estranheza  
 also to Jorge with some awkwardness  
 ‘And soon saw them look also to Jorge with some  
 awkwardness.’  
 (Júlio Dinis)
- (26) E viste-os beliscarem-se? – São como cães!  
 and saw.2SG-them.ACC pinch.INF.3PL-SE are like dogs  
 ‘Have you seen them pinching each other? They are like  
 dogs!’  
 (Eça de Queiroz)
- (27) Eu via-as reunirem-se em bandos por  
 I saw-them.ACC gather.INF.3PL-SE in flocks by  
 cima de mim

<sup>20</sup> They are also absent from the recently published reference grammar of Portuguese organized by Raposo, Bacelar, Mota, Segura, and Mendes (2014). One of the reviewers asks whether it is a coincidence that out of the four examples of accusative subjects of ‘inflected’ infinitives cited in (25)-(28), three of them involve reflexive predicates. I do not have enough 19<sup>th</sup> century attestations of the relevant structure to be able to hypothesize whether it is a coincidence or not. However, as a speaker of the dialect that allows sentences like (25)-(28), I do not have restrictions on the type of verb that may occur in the infinitival clause. See also (21) above.

above of me

‘I saw them gather in flocks over my head.’

(Eça de Queiroz)

- (28) *Via-os saborearem-se em sossego dos bens*  
 saw-them.ACC enjoy.INF.3PL-SE in peace of.the goods  
 mal adquiridos

ill gotten

‘He saw them enjoy in peace their ill-gotten goods.’

(Camilo Castelo Branco)

The two types of apparent inflected infinitives briefly addressed in this last section would deserve a morphologically-oriented approach that is not undertaken in the current paper.

## 5. Conclusion

This paper traces the evolution of Portuguese causative/perception structures over time. It is shown that there is no evidence for a diachronic relation between the Latin *Accusativus cum Infinitivo* construction and the Romance ECM construction. Instead the *faire*-infinitive construction, which seems to have emerged in Late Latin and Proto-Romance times, is the earlier pattern of infinitival complementation with causative and perception verbs in Portuguese (and, presumably, more generally in Romance). The ECM construction is the subsequent innovation and creates the conditions for the appearance of the inflected infinitive in the complements of causative and perception verbs. Hence the diachronic development of the structures analyzed in the paper defines a clear path of functional enrichment of the infinitival complements of causative and perception verbs, which gradually acquire greater syntactic autonomy.

The structurally ambiguous configurations that lie behind each step of the change are identified in the paper and are shown to hinge on specific syntactic traits of Old Portuguese. Besides, it is demonstrated that some object control verbs followed a similar path of change as causative and perception verbs (including the availability of restructuring and clitic climbing at earlier stages). This is, as far as I am aware, a new observation with potential for future investigations.

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